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XIX.—SOME EARLY ITALIAN PARALLELS TO THE LOCUTION *THE SICK MAN OF THE EAST*.

The wide diffusion through Europe of our modern locution *the sick man of the East*¹ is due to circumstances largely factitious. At no time has the epithet been conspicuously just, as those meddling too intimately in Turkish affairs have found to their sorrow. And we shall see herewith that at the beginning of its vogue, a half century ago, it was by no means novel. As a matter of fact, the locution gained its foothold in journalism from a striking diplomatic incident; and it has derived its vitality from that vague hostility, partly religious, partly humanitarian, and largely ill-informed, with which the commercial interests of the Christian Occident have watched Turkish affairs in Armenia and the Asiatic colonies. The expression began to have wide currency in 1854. It seems that early in the previous year the British *chargé d'affaires* in St. Petersburg had a conversation with the Emperor Nicholas regarding Turkish conditions. This talk was ostensibly *en gentilhomme*, as the phrase went, and should not properly have been reported: in diplomacy, every conversation with a sovereign is in confidence. It is quite possible, however, that the Emperor actually intended thus informally to publish his attitude toward the Porte, without entering into binding declarations or agreements. At any rate, from the correspondence of Sir George Seymour with his home office the matter crept into the public press, much in the following tenor:² Nicholas,

¹ Occasional also in the form of *Europe*. Strictly speaking it means the Ottoman Empire; but a natural popular confusion, arising partly from the influence of cartoonists, applies it to the Sultan.

² See the textual report of Seymour in *Blackwood's*, 1854, p. 494; also Karl Marx, *The Eastern Question*, London, 1897, pp. 290-301. *The*

referring to the bad condition of Turkey, said : "Tenez, nous avons sur les bras un homme malade, un homme gravement malade ; ce sera, je vous le dis franchement, un grand malheur, si, un de ces jours, il devait nous échapper, surtout avant que toutes les dispositions nécessaires fussent prises." Seymour replied : "Votre Majesté est si gracieuse qu'elle me permettra de lui faire encore une observation. Votre Majesté daignera m'excuser si je lui fais observer que c'est à l'homme généreux et fort de ménager l'homme malade et faible." The Emperor was so pleased with this metaphor that in another conversation some days later he returned to the subject in similar terms : "I am less anxious to know what shall be done with the sick man, than to arrange with England what shall not be done." To Seymour's objection that there was "no reason to think he was dying," Nicholas insisted : "The sick man is dying." This sinister revelation of Russia's attitude, coming at a crisis of public interest in the East, and combined with the undiplomatic language in which it was expressed—partly too with the unconventional manner in which Seymour failed to respect the Emperor's confidence,—assured the incident and the locution wide publicity. The expression, with various modifications of form and connotation, has since been revived at every important moment in Ottoman history.

It was during the wars culminating in the Peace of Carlowitz in 1699 that the Turks first began to show signs of political illness. We know now that their distempers

Reader's Handbook, of Brewer, Philadelphia, 1893, has the date misprinted 1844 (s. v. *Sick*). As an example of the play on the expression in journalism, we may recall *Blackwood's*, 1854, p. 496 : "*L'homme gravement malade* was exhibiting every symptom of convalescence and the only danger to be apprehended was from the Muscovite doctor, who, without being summoned, was preparing to administer his pills." So recently as 1910, a course of lectures in the New York City public schools bore the title : *The Sick Man of Europe*.

were far from being as deeply rooted as their antagonists at that time were disposed to believe. But it is none the less true that the West seized upon the repulses at Vienna and the Venetian conquests to the South as symptoms of Turkey's early demise. So that when, during the negotiations for the Peace of Carlowitz, the Marquis of Ferriol wrote to his master, Louis XIV, in comment on the illness of the Ottoman Empire, he was but reproducing a figure of speech, which already enjoyed considerable popularity.¹ In Venice, particularly, where a glorious fight was being waged for the supremacy of the seas, the progress of the great Inferma's troubles was watched with nervous glee; and the works of many anonymous Venetian scribblers of this period have all the features of a physician's bulletin. A typical satire of this class, and one which gained a certain diffusion, was the *Visita de Spisoli Califa, medico della Turchia moribonda*.² This poem, possibly by Pier Anzolo Zen,³ consists

¹ I am unable to quote the text of Ferriol's letter, to which Professor E. A. Grosvenor, of Amherst College, kindly drew my attention.

² Among the Cicogna manuscripts, Venice, Museo Civico, cod. Correr, 1229, pp. 173-6; cod. Correr, 1086, pp. 878-82. Cod. 1229 attributes the poem to Gian Francesco Busenello, but erroneously, for Busenello died in 1659. A Gian Francesco Busenello was living in Venice at the time this poem was composed; and he likewise wrote verses; but it is with works certainly by the elder poet that the ms. groups our satire. The attribution must therefore apply to him. The assignment to Pier Anzolo Zen is in Cod. 1086.

³ The literary work of this Zeno, which has been entirely forgotten, extended over the second half of the XVIIth century. He celebrated Venetian victories in the *Glorie delle armi venete*, Pinelli, Venezia, 1651, in collaboration with numerous contemporary academicians. In 1693 he contributed similarly to the *Funerali accademici* of Lazaro Ferro, and in 1698 wrote the biography of Marco Contarini, a Venetian *avogador*. His principal work, which places him among the forerunners of that efficient school of empirical critics of literature, Quadrio, Crescimbeni, Mazzuchelli, and Gimma, which flourished in the Settecento, is his *Memoria de Scrittori Veneti patrizii ecclesiastici et secolari*, Venezia, 1662. This book, important to the students of Venetian literature and incidentally of the Seicento, was

of forty-four stanzas in the consecrated quatrain of the Seicento Venetian satirists: hendecasyllabic verses with interior couplet:

1-3.

“ Assafia la Turchia all'improvvisa
 Da una frevassa acuta e incancheria,
 Criava ' Ajuto, aimè, che son spedia!
 Bassà! Regini! Muème de camisa!'
 Passava per de là Spisol Califa,
 Miedigo schietto e disinteressao,
 Ch'intrando in casa, messe drento el cao,
 E osservò ben sto muso da melifa.
 Fu pregà da Amurat de visitar
 La povera ammalada, che smaniava
 Per un certo accidente, che alla Drava
 L'altro zorno la fece gomitare.”¹

Expelling everyone from the Seraglio, the doctor insists on a confession of the Inferma's past life, “acciò con dose certa—Purga l'umor che a morte *la* condanna” (St. 4). She admits a very irregular career,—substance in fact for a thousand volumes: to an inordinate desire for power and a greater love of war, she has added an ambition to become “el boggia del cattolichismo.” She has used her generals to amass great plunder, and then cut off their heads to feast at ease on the profits (Sts. 5-11). But her present sufferings are due to her gluttonous wanderings through the East:

given a second and corrected edition in 1774. Cicogna reviews it briefly in the *Bibliografia*, p. 357, and draws from it *passim* in the *Iscrizioni veneziane*. Gian Francesco Busenello was on intimate terms with Zeno, and carried on a poetical correspondence, of which some fragments remain. One deals with a loan of books, giving occasion for jocose reflections; another was prompted by the *zuccari* sent out on the wedding day of Zeno. Other encomiastic verses, all relating to the Turkish wars of 1680-90, are attributed to Zeno in Cod. 1086, cc. 862-892.

¹ *Frevassa*, ‘fever’; for *muème* the MSS. have *mueve*; but the copyists apparently misunderstood even the first words in the line: ‘pashas’ and ‘viceroys’ are vocative. *Melifa*, ‘strega’; *Amurat* is probably but a generic Turkish name without specific reference. For the allusion to the Drava, see below.

12-13.

“ I desordini po' ch'ho praticao
 No se registrerà secoli intregghi—
 Piena de bon moscatto e vini gregghi,
 De sorbetti, tabacco e de stilao.
 La panza sgionfa come xe un tamburo
 Dal gran magnar frutti de Palestina ;
 E se dormiva i cuchi della China.
 Volevi mo' sentir un bel susurro.” ¹

From Chinese and Persian feasts, “el stomego se storse e se resente”; she is burned by Cyprus wine, “bevuo a creppa panza”—by the indigestible mixture of Candia, Canea and Idumea (Sts. 14-17). Spisoli at this point puts on a long face and is sure it is a case “da lasarghe el pelo”; and for her confession is substituted a running diagnosis :

19-21.

“ Qua ghè malinconia — mostrè sto fronte—
 Radicada insei ossi e le meole,
 Quando, a forza de schioppi e de pistole,
 El regno avè chiappao de Negroponte.
 Sta panza sgionfa, per quel che mi penso,
 Ve xe vegnua, quando, con sforzo rio,
 Avè magna Morea al fio de Dio,
 Robando a Christo un cavedal immenso.
 La castradina della Schiavonia
 Ve mantien el ventricolo roverso ;
 Perchè co prepotenze da perverso,
 La libertà avè cazzà in Galia.” ²

Spisoli now inspects the wounds she has received in recent campaigns ; but in his ardor forgets, amusingly, that he is a

¹ *Intregghi* is lacking in the MSS., but the restitution seems obvious. *Stilao*, sc. *vin* : ‘brandy’ ; *sgionfa*, intransitive : ‘swells’ ; MSS. *volevimo*. The last two verses mean : “ If I couldn’t cause trouble any other way, I would go to China and waken the cuckoos.”

² *Insei*, < Lat. *intus*—*illi* ; Ital. *nei* ; the correction *intei* suggests itself ; but I find *insei* in other MSS. of this period. *Sgionfa*, here the *tronco* participle ; possibly likewise in the preceding citation, if we restore è after *panza*. *Castradina* : ‘fatted mutton.’

Turk and becomes the mouthpiece of the Venetian author, gloating over "Coron, Napoli e Sign—Vogando verso nu tuti a regata." In the *violina*, he finds remnants of "regni strozzai, imperii guasti e popolazzi spenti." For remedies he prescribes "Lion purgative" and Austrian bleeding; as to diet, strict abstinence from griffin and eagle eggs; and in general, no more toying with lions and "lovi." But there is one remedy more certain than all the rest: simple decapitation. At the very least the climate of Europe is quite impossible; she needs a change of air:

40.

"Per sanarve ghe vuol l'aria nativa,
Dême qua el polso !!! Prima d'andar via—
Ut-re-mi-fa, o povera Turchia,
Vu sê spedia prima d'andar a riva."

In conclusion he instructs the nurse: "Co gha cagao custia ghe trarrà un schioppo":

42-44.

"Andè a chiamar el Bustangì Bassi
Che ve daga dell'erba de siropi;
E se'l cervel ghe va sora dei copi,
Dêghelo in gola, e lassêla cusì.
L'ha mali universali la meschina;
Chi ghe dia su la testa, chi in le gambe;
E se i colpi xe grossi e botte strambe,
La fa assae arrivar a domatina.
Vago via, Sabalcher; Seffà, bon dì!
El mal xe troppo, e no ghè più speranza:
L'è immarcia dalla gran desorbitanza:
Si l'è schiopada!—L'ha volù cusì."¹

¹ The text of the MSS. is corrupt: v. 3: *va* is lacking in the MSS.; in v. 6, they offer *da*, but *dia* alone makes sense: he is prescribing a treatment that will take her "a domatina," the date vaguely set for his next visit; he is not describing the cause of her condition, which has already been exposed thoroughly in the body of the poem. For the meaning of *popolazzi*, some lines above, it is to be noted that *-azzo* is in Venetian most frequently a mere augmentative, without pejorative force.

We may date this poem with considerable definiteness. It is posterior to the battle of the Drava, August 12, 1687, referred to in the first citation (St. 3). This is the latest date among the numerous events of the years 1683–1687 mentioned in the satire.¹ On the other hand, for the *terminus ad quem*, it must be anterior to the death in 1690 of the Duke of Lorraine :

33.

“Prima che cressa e se fassa mortal
El vostro morbo, fève avrir la vena
Da quel bravo cerusico el Lorena,
Che ha per insegna l’aquila imperial.”

It is scarcely credible that Zeno should have omitted reference to two of the most brilliant successes of Venice in this war: the capture of Valona (1688) and of Malvasia (1689–90). We saw also that the battle of the Drava happened “l’altro zorno.” Spisoli’s visit took place therefore certainly between 1687 and 1690; and probably in September or October of 1687.

Most of the themes exploited in the *Visita de Spisoli*, reappear, but more tersely, in another poem, of twenty-three lines, written for a victory of the allies, posterior to the defeat of the Turkish army before Vienna.² This squib lacks the personification of the Empire, but its spirit and thought are of the same inspiration as the satire of Zeno above discussed :

“Turchi si mi no fallo—Vu ghavè una piagheta
Che no la pol sanar Maumet profeta ;
Gnanca el spicier del Gallo—Col so famoso unguento,
Pol varirve dal mal, a quel che sento.

¹ Here they are . Prevesa and Santa Maura, in Morosini’s campaign of 1684 (st. 25); Modon, Coron and Cabamata, 1685 (st. 26); Navarini, 1686 (st. 25); Napoli di Romania, 1686; Lepanto, May, 1687; Corinto, May, 1687; Patras, August 11, 1687 (sts. 25–26).

² Cod. Correr, 1229, p. 199a; also attributed falsely to Busenello.

Cosa donca farèu—Per sanarve del mal,
 Che ve va condusendo all'ospeal?
 La cassia ch'avè tiolto
 No la v'ha fatto ben puoco nè molto.
 So che ghavevi cura—De far in Viena stua
 Ma in fin no l'havè bua!—Nè i salassi ha podesto
 Darve la sanità per vostro resto.
 Zà che niente ve giova—Tolè sto mio consegio :
 Che per vu sarà el meggio
 Andar via dall' Europa assai lontan ;
 Che el proverbio no inganna,
 Che lontananza ogni gran piaga sana." ¹

That these metaphors, in relation to Turkey, had become commonplaces is proved by another madrigal,² of thirteen lines, which shows in part almost textual identity with the preceding :

Contro i Turchi, Madrigale.

"Turchi, per quel che vedo—Vu sè pieni de guai,
 Da una febre continua tormentai ;
 Nè val le medesine :
 Non sa inventar el vostro gran profeta
 Al vostro mal antidoto o ricetta.
 Avè sorbì sciropi-Cassia avè tiolta a squelle,
 Che v'ha fatto cagar fin le buelle.
 Ma perchè'l Moresini
 Vol dar qualche sollevò al vostro affanno,
 L'ha stimà alfin che bona cosa sia,
 Darve l'ultima soppa in Romania." ³

¹ The *famoso unguento* is doubtless the *unguentum gallicum*, identical with that *unguentum napolitanum*, for which see below ; it was a regular adjunct to the treatment of the *stufa* (*stua*). The reference is to the *entente* between France and the Porte during this period. For parallels to the idea that the allies of France were afflicted with *mal francese*, see also below. *Bua*, Ital. 'avuta.'

² This term is here used in the sense of a short poem, with irregular metre, alternating rhymes with *sciolti*, *tronchi*, and *piani*, and hendecasyllables with *settenari*, etc. Recent studies show that the name *madrigale* was given already in the sixteenth century to *canzoni* of a single strophe, whether meant for music or not. Those here cited may however actually have been used in the humorous parts of melodramas. Those sung on the Venetian stage in the Seicento are full of political references.

³ Cod. Correr, 1193, c. 13a ; anonymous. Also in cod. 1083, c. 565.

From a passage in Cod. Correr, 1086, (pp. 849–853), it would seem that these verses were sufficiently popular to cause a quasi-polemic as to their authorship. There this madrigal is followed by a *Madrigal in risposta del madrigal che prencipia "Turchi per quel che vedo,"* (p. 853a), in which the author, too modest to name himself, yet has his say about those "poeti minchioni" who go about claiming the poem as theirs. To his violent asseveration "Ma digo ben, el madrigal xe mio," another anonymous poet replies: "What difference does it make? The madrigal may be yours, but Romania is ours!" (p. 853b).

The last verse of the stanza printed above is paralleled in a satire addressed

Alla monarchia ottomana, gravemente inferma.

"La monarchia ottomana inferma giace,
 Di mal pericoloso e disperato :
 Quattro son gl'assistenti al grave stato :
 L'imperatore il sangue più vivace
 Dal braccio e da la testa gli ha cavato ;
 Con pillole e bocconi anco ha provato
 Di smorzargli nel cor l'ardente face.
 Gli prepara siroppi il muscovita ;
 Corre il polacco entro la spiceria :
 Per meglio proveder a la sua vita
 Il Morosini alfin con cortesia,
 Vedendola di forze sì smarrita,
 Una suppa gl'ha dato in Romania." ¹

Just previous, apparently, to the fall of Malvasia in 1690 were written two sonnets, in which *S'allude a quel proverbio: Bisogna morir co no ghè più ogio in la luse.*² In vv. 12–14 of the first we find: "Xe morta la Turchia: no

¹ Cod. Correr, 1086, p. 831b. The ms. has *cavao* and *provaio*; in v. 9 *contro* for *entro*; *gh'* in the last verse, a Venetianism for *le* in hiatus, *i. e.*, *gl'*, but also generally for *gli*. Cf. vv. 5, 7, 8. For the picture of the watchers at the bedside, compare the German prototypes, mentioned below.

² Cod. Correr, 1086, p. 830.

la vuol seuse la morte. . . El leon v'ha sorbiô l'ogio in la luse." In the second, the Inferma is compared to a sick bird, with drooping wings. But the remedy is at hand: "Dêghe al miedego la manza," because, "col cazarve un bon siropetto in panza," he has recovered Romania, and from a second dose has every reason to expect an immediate appearance of Malvasia.

As compared with the acceptance of the locution current to-day, these citations present one or two peculiar features. To the Europe of 1854, Turkey was a tottering invalid, awaiting only interment from the powers. Dr. Nicholas was administering his pills, but with a heavy investment at the undertaker's. To the Venetians of Morosini, she was a dyspeptic glutton, obliged after centuries of unchecked voracity to disgorge. The physicians are those, who, by relieving her in succession of her undigested, unassimilated provinces, send her off to Asia on the road to recovery. Further, with the word *royaume* or *empire* or even *Sultan* in mind, the Russian emperor in 1854 made Turkey a sick man; whereas the Italians, thinking of *monarchia* or *Turchia* (for *impero* was associated with Austria, and carried no connotation of tyrannical absolutism), naturally made the epithet feminine. The feature common to both points of view is the element of personification—implied, of course, only, in the verses addressed to the *Turchi*. And it is this characteristic that indicates the real nature of our locution; for it is merely an extension, an improvement, of those personifications of nations and parties which date from great antiquity. In this sense, again, the metaphor of Nicholas was nothing new.

When Cicero, in the first oration against Catiline, likens the Republic to a fever-stricken man, to be relieved not by pampering delicacies but by rigorous severity, he is availing

himself of a very elementary and intelligible figure of speech.¹ And as we advance in the middle ages, such conceptions are facilitated by oriental, Neo-Platonic and Christian influences in literature, which make all sorts of personifications a matter of course. Scarcely any vigor of imagination or novelty is noticeable therefore in tropes such as “Heu me dolores patriæ,” with which a monk of the ninth century mourns the destruction of his monastery; or in the “Ploret hunc Europa iam decapitata,” of a poet writing in eulogy of Henry II.² But that exceptional power of imagery which made the Lady Philosophy of Boëthius so inspiring to the middle ages, begins to recur in those invocations to Italy as the oppressed and tortured queen or matron, with which Petrarch and Fazio degli Uberti appealed to their country-

¹ *In Catilinam*, I, 12: “. . . periculum autem residebit et erit inclusus penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicæ. Ut sæpe homines ægri morbo gravi, cum æstu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque affliguntur, sic hic morbus, qui est in republica, relevatus istius pœna, vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescebit.” Machiavelli, steeped as he was in Ciceronianism, doubtless had this passage in mind, when he wrote in *Il Principe*, III: “I Romani feciono in questi casi quello che tutti i principi savi debbon fare; li quali non solamente hanno aver riguardo alli scandoli presenti, ma alli futuri, ed a quelli con ogni industria riparare; perchè prevedendosi discosto, facilmente vi si può rimediare: ma aspettando che ti s'appressino, la medicina non è più a tempo, perchè la malattia è divenuta incurabile; ed interviene di questa come dicono i medici dell'etica, che nel principio suo è facile a curare e difficile a conoscere; ma nel corso del tempo, non l'avendo nel principio conosciuta nè medicata, diventa facile a conoscere e difficile a curare. Così interviene nelle cose dello Stato: perchè conoscendo discosto . . . i mali che nascono in quello, si guariscono presto; ma quando per non gli aver conosciuti, si lascino crescere in modo che ognuno li conosce, non vi è più rimedio.” We may here observe that the double use of *male*, for ‘evil’ and ‘sickness’ in the Romance vocabulary, makes the transition from the literal to the figurative less abrupt than in English; such tropes and metaphors are in consequence much more frequent and less noteworthy.

² Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au XII^e siècle*, Paris, Brockhaus, 1843, pp. 259 and 286.

men. In Saviozzo, Cecchin da Venezia, and Caterina Cornaro, to mention only a few of the numberless examples, the device is already apparent as a rhetorical commonplace, —part of the traditional fund of concept in an imitative literature. But the development of the figure is nurtured not only from literary channels. Mr. Medin has justly explained the special frequency of personification of nations in the Renaissance as a reflex of allegorical painting, where the human, especially the female figure, offered richer possibilities to the artist than the animal symbols of medieval shields. However, for the particular satirical extension with which we are concerned, the animal was quite as suitable as the queen or matron: we have already seen examples of the bedraggled bird in need of the doctor. There was finally another source of constant suggestion in the direction of our figure: the tendency to represent nations in the person of their most conspicuous leader. This is actually present in our modern locution, where, most naturally, we think of the sick Sultan. But there is an early example. In 1440, the Venetian general and humanist Francesco Barbaro, writing from the besieged Brescia, and urging vigorous prosecution of the war against the Visconti, says that "The enemy is in such confusion, that if the head (General Piccinino) should now also fail the sick body, a glorious end could be brought to the war."¹ Here the metaphor is naturally suggested by the fact that the enemy is in reality a single man, Visconti. When we read, finally, in the *Epistole* of Antonio Galateo, a dignified portrayal of "Infelix Italia, levis, inconstans, in sui perniciem ingeniosa,

¹ See Fenigstein, *Leonardo Giustiniani*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1909, p. 17: "Der Feind sei in solcher Verzweiflung, dass, wenn dem kranken Körper noch das Haupt fehlen würde, ein ruhmvolles Kriegsende erzwungen werden könnte," in paraphrase of Barbaro's letter. Cf. for this passage, the sonnets on Napoleon, cited below.

exterorum amica, et quæ quondam alumna, immo mater pia omnium gentium fuerat, nunc prostituta jacet, discissis vestibus, laniata membris ;” or again, in Chapter XXVI of Machiavelli’s *Prince*, a picture of Italy, “senza capo, senz’ordine, battuta, spogliata, lacera . . . rimasa come senza vita, aspettante qual possa esser quello che sani le sue ferite . . . e la guarisca da quelle sue piaghe già per il lungo tempo infistolite,” we lack only the element of jocose satire, to complete the identity in feeling with our modern locution.¹

Precisely this development was to be introduced, and with great literary excellence, by some of Machiavelli’s contemporaries. We have already recalled that in the religious field there was a remarkably well established tradition of personification, especially in didactic literature. It usually appeared in abstractions of virtues or vices, but very early the satiric element manifested itself. So with Nigellus Wireker, the eventful life of the ass Burnellus symbolized

¹For the reference in this paragraph to Medin, see his *Storia della repubblica di Venezia nella poesia*, Milano, 1904, pp. 19-20. For Saviozzo, cf. Segarizzi, *La poesia di Venezia*, Venice, 1909, p. 19. For other numerous examples, see D’Ancona, *Il concetto dell’ unità politica nei poeti italiani*, in his *Studi di critica e storia letteraria*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1880. On p. 66 is the citation from Galateo’s letters, cited after an article by De Sinone. For another casual specimen of Italy with “le membra straiate e morse,” see the *Canzone all’ Italia*, of Geronimo di Verità, anno 1526, published in *Miscellanea per le nozze Biadego-Bernardelli*, 1896, Verona, p. 187. For satire on animals in the War of the Roses, see Tucker, *Verse satire in England before the Renaissance*, New York, 1908, pp. 44 and 127, and in general the chapter on political satire. Mr. Tucker also provides a discussion of medieval personification. On p. 31 is found the following: “Scarcely existent in the literature of Rome, hardly more so in that of Italy and Spain . . . the political satire is characteristically English.”—It is extremely difficult to avoid these harmless and inaccurate generalizations. Certainly if there is one tradition in Italian literature where the thread of originality and spontaneity is unbroken it is precisely in political satire. If the pasquinades are not serious enough, why forget Aretino, or Buratti, or Giusti?

the corruption of twelfth-century monasteries. It is this didactic and ecclesiastical precedent, rather than any particular national aptitude for such satire—as Mr. Herford implies—that explains the prolific career of our figure in the German polemics of the Reformation.¹ In fact, in the development of Thomas Murner's writings, the stages are clear, by which he passes from the mediæval didactic personification to his masterly satiric conception *Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren*. Goedeke² has indicated the antiquity of the theme which Murner treats in his *Ein andechtig geistliche Badenfahrt zu Strassburg, in dem Bad erdicht*. And the *Mühle von Schwindsheim* carries on the idea in its depiction of the whole world as afflicted with *Schwindel*. The conception of Folly, which Erasmus had exploited so effectively, thus proceeding from the simple abstractions of the *Badenfahrt*, is then ingeniously adapted to Lutheranism itself in the satire *Vom grossen Narren*. The Narr is represented as a dropsic invalid, afflicted with all the evils of the times.³ These evils are various Narren,

¹ To the German phases of the question my attention was kindly directed by Professor W. G. Howard of Harvard University.

² In his edition of the *Narrenbeschwörung*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1879, pp. 31-2.

³ See the summary in the edition of Heinrich Kurz, Zürich, 1848, pp. xxxiv-vii: "Dieser grosse Narr ist aber nichts anderes als die Personifikation der reformatorischen Bestrebungen seiner Zeit . . . Der Narr widersetzt sich der Beschwörung aber er muss sich endlich den mächtigen Worten des Beschwörers fügen. Zuerst kommen aus seinem Haupt die gelehrten Narren, welche die Bibel nach ihrem eigenen Sinne erklären; dann aus seiner Tasche diejenigen, welche nach den Gütern der Kirche lüstern sind; aus seinem Bauch kriechen hierauf die fünfzehn Bundsgenossen hervor, die mit Geist und Gewandtheit persifliert werden. . . in seinen Schuhen sitzt Bruder Stiefelein (Verfasser mehrerer reformatorischen Schriften); in seiner Brust ist Karsthans verborgen, der durch einen wirksamen Trank zu Tage gefördert wird . . ." For the text, further than the editions cited, see Kürschner, *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Stuttgart, vol. xvii.

who, under the influence of the physic and the incantations of Doctor Murner, are compelled to come forth. But this does not prevent the death of the Gross Narr, who, after some five thousand lines of lashing, "mit alle ehren zu der erden bestediget wird." This idea of Murner is adopted directly some thirty years later by Hans Sachs in *Das Narrenschneiden*: the physician diagnoses in the swollen body an endless series of Narren, which he proceeds to extract from a huge incision, one after the other.¹ Of less pretentious extent but of equal power and influence is Niklas Manuel's *Sendbrief von der Messkrankheit und jrem letsten willen dem Bapst zukommen*.² Here a Cardinal reports to the Pope the serious illness of the Mass. Deserted by friends and fortune, the venerable lady "hat den handel so schwarz zu hertzen dass sie todtlich kranck ligt." The Pope in great alarm grasps wildly at a remedy, even promising to go to the expense of a *Badenfahrt*, and calls Doctor Heyoho, the *apoteker*, and the "weitberumpten artzet Doctor Johann Rundek" in consultation. The bath they recommend produces a copious perspiration, which, in spite of their hopes, is but the forerunner of death. Whereupon the Mass, sharing the despair of her attendants, proceeds to her last will and testament. Of the year 1526 is another treatment of this theme in *Neuwe Zeitungen von den absterbenden Messen* cited by Mr. Herford, after Röhricht's history of Alsace. And from one or both of these sources, the theme penetrated into England through the work of William Roy and Jerome Barlowe, who were in Germany at the time of the controversies over the Strassburg mass. In fact, their long satire, *Rede me and be not wrothe*, was printed there in 1527-8, but for circulation in England.³ The mass is represented

¹ Ott, *Über Murners Verhältnis zu Geiler*, Bonn, 1895, p. 101.

² In *Das Kloster* of J. Scheible, Stuttgart, 1848, vol. 10, pp. 362-376.

³ Printed in Arber's *English Reprints*, London, 1871, vol. II. The satire has been recently examined by Mr. Tucker in his volume on pre-Renaissance

as a lusty old man, far from dying of old age "yf prestes myght have had their will—Withe the helpe of monkes and fryres"; but "sore assauted" he was slain with a two edged sword "that they say was goddis sworde"; and so the holy mass lay dead.

These documents interest us here particularly because both Manuel and Murner had travelled in Italy, and the general interchange of suggestion between Italy and Germany at this time is not slight.¹ Many of the satires of Ulrich von Hutten were actually written on Italian soil. Professor Howard has pointed out that in Hutten's work also we have relatively frequent examples of our theme. Of these let us cite for illustration the *Epistola ad Maximilianum Cæsarem Italiæ Ficticia*, of the year 1516,² vv. 196–197. Italy hopefully laments :

"Sic cecidi ut possim surgere lapsa tamen :
Grande quidem vulnus, sed adhuc medicabile nostrum est."

In the *Responsio Maximiliani Augusti*, indited by Eobanus Hessus, vv. 7–10, the theme is resumed :

"Scribis ut his curis vix possis ægra levare,
Et desperata pene salute mori.
Si qua fuit quam nos velles misisse salutem,
Despice : nunc primum est illa ferenda tibi."

Vv. 328–330 ; 333–335.

"At tu passa graves motus, iam pene coloris
Indiga, iam morbis pallida, iamque senex,

sance satire in England, already cited ; and before him by Herford in his *Studies in the literary relations of England and Germany*, Cambridge, 1886.

¹If the *Baldus* of Folengo is inspired in part by the Folly of Erasmus, his *Chaos del Triperuno*, with its association to Lutheranism, has a relation to the other German satires of the Reformation, that we have mentioned. We may recall in this connection the study of Amalia Cesano : *Hans Sachs ed i suoi rapporti con la letteratura italiana*, Roma, 1904.

²Böcking, *Hutteni Opera*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1859, vol. 1, p. 112.

Quæ iam fracta malis poteras et mortua credi,
 Cui vitam adventus spes fovet una mei . . .
 Adde novas animo vires; priscumque resume
 Ornatum, nec te iam periisse puta:
 Nostra mane, nec cede malis."

Later in Hutten's epigrams to the Emperor, Italy is again depicted, "possessa malis, nec iam ipsa salutem — Ultra aliquam potis est sperare, peritque videndo," from the "tetrum malum," sown by Pope Julius through the world. And again (Vol. III, p. 231), we have Venice, once "superbia tumens," now "solo cubans," "languidum nullo caput — Nitore continens manu."

Gaspary has pointed out that a medieval satirist of Brescia saw in the legendary Gaul Brennus a *peste gallica*, such as Italy was frequently to endure.¹ But it was not till that mysterious disease, which Girolamo Fracastoro has treated with such Lucretian dignity, became epidemic in Italy at a time when the memory of Charles VIII's invasion was still fresh, that the *morbo gallico* came to have a specific connotation and to adapt itself so admirably to political satire. In vain did the French, also associating the disease with the Italian campaign of Charles VIII, strive to spread the locution *mal de Naples*. Not even the theory of West Indian origin from the expedition of Columbus—a theory which seems to have appealed especially to the scientists of the Renaissance—sufficed to prevent the Italians from fixing the plague upon their trans-Alpine enemies.² The second

¹ *Storia della letteratura italiana*, I, 24, after Muratori, v, 29.

² Science has of course rejected both explanations; for this and for data on the literary vogue of the *mal francese*—which may be indefinitely increased in number—see the article of Luzio-Renier in the *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana*, 1885, pp. 408-432; also Vittorio Rossi: *Di un motivo della poesia burlesca italiana nel sec. XVI*, in appendix to his *Le lettere di messer Andrea Calmo*, Torino, Loescher, 1888, pp. 371-397. We may add that one of the best literary reflections of the then current scientific

canto of Lalli's *Franceide* expresses with rollicking good humor the determination of Italy in this regard, when he invents a tournament with the momentous question of this name at stake, and where Fame,

“ Affin ch' havesse ogn' un notitia intera,
Bandì, che sì chiamasse un mal sì brutto,
Sotto la grave pena d' un tornese,
Non mal italian ma mal francese.”¹

belief is in the *Mondo Nuovo* of Tommaso Stigliani (Canto xiii, stt. 19-23), of 1617. He bases its beginning on the fact that in the New World at the time of the discovery “ non era . . . di donne gelosia grandi o private ;” hence

“ Durando ancor questo commercio caro
Fra l' uno e l' altro qui popolo amico,
Avvenne che le femine infettaro
Molti ispani del numero impudico
D' un morbo infino allora a noi non chiaro,
Benchè noto agli antipodi ed antico ;
Che fu quel ch' all' Europa indi poi venne
E di francese male il nome ottenne.”

Stigliani adds that the Spaniards, through Divine Providence, introduced small-pox in exchange. This is rather severe on Providence, but the fact is nearer the truth than the rest.

¹ Lalli, out of fairness, admits that this outcome was somewhat unjust ; for in vi, 65, he makes the French rightly refuse to contribute to the expedition for *legno santo* to India :

“ Nulla donò il francese assai stizzato
Che mal francese dirlo avean voluto,
Mentr' ei non v' havea colpa nè peccato,
E d' altra parte il male era venuto.”

It is interesting to inquire why, in fact, the name actually became established throughout Europe, triumphing, as a generic term, over those numerous local and invariably satirical locutions, by which the disease came to be designated in the different countries (for the list, cf. the article of Luzio and Renier). The reason is possibly to be found in the aggressive political position that France, at one time or another, occupied in relation to all her neighbors ; as well as her increasing reputation as the centre of *galante* life. In this her only possible rival could have been Spain. Whether the French brought the disease to Naples or contracted it there,

So then, immediately, the *mal francese* became a symbol of that ultramontane affliction from which Italian politics chronically suffered. Luzio-Renier cite from the year 1555 a "lamento che fan li Piemontesi per essere vinti anni fa amalati del mal francese;" and a passage in Pietro Aretino, where the Marchese del Vasto, after a victory over the French, is referred to as "il legno d'India," for having freed Italy partly from the French disease. In a letter of 1581, the genial archbishop Maffio Venier, remarks with sinister humor, that after his own experiences he does not wonder "se le piaghe di Francia, nate per causa di donne anch'esse, si andassero facendo ogni giorno più incurabili."¹ The theme is developed casually in a document of the Cinquecento—forty-six octaves in parody of the rhymes of the initial stanzas in the various cantos of the *Orlando Furioso*, entitled *Ariosto in purga del mal francese*.² This poem, a peculiar mixture of scientific, jocose, and satirical elements,

the theory of its diffusion through the French army accounts for the beginning of the expression's vogue; but the seed fell on ground fertilized by anti-French sentiment. Otherwise, *mal indien* or *mal espagnol* would have held the field.

¹ Nicola Ruggieri, *Maffio Venier*, Udine, 1909, p. 23.

² In Venice, at the Marciana, Ital. ix, cod. 460, pp. 98-113; cod. 470, pp. 39-47; in Vicenza, at the Bertoliana, cod. 1, 3, 31, pp. 1-12. Here it is entitled: *Tramutazione delle prime ottave di ciaschedun canto dell' Ariosto nel Furioso contro il morbo gallico*. The poem begins: "Le gonne, l'inquietudini, i dolori." Rossi, *op. cit.* pp. 392-393, knew this document, but only in a Marciana codex, It. ix, 364. This I have not seen. Part of this ms. is in the hand of Marin Sanudo; which would make our poem probably of the sixteenth century. From its grouping in the mss. cited above I had supposed it to be of the seventeenth century; but doubtless it is to be classed with those pasquinades which were applied to several different situations, assuming in each case a new actuality. The imputation referred to below was true when applied to Francis I; but it could serve quite as well for satirical purposes against Louis XIV. Rossi's text has some variants from those I have seen: notably the correct reading for the first line: *Le gomme, etc.*

describes the inveterate nature of the French affliction ; in fact Italy has become a veritable *puttaniero*, whose cure can be best effected by taking advantage of the traditional antagonism between France and Spain (cf. St. 25) :

“ Gran contrasti e battaglie è stato invero
Tra francesi e spagnuoli a tutte l'ore ;
E se un contrario più potente e fiero
L'altro scacciasse del suo albergo fuore,
Io darei per consiglio al puttaniero
Che abbia dentro il francese abbitatore,
Che due spagnuoli in un caldar bollesse
E quel decotto per purgar bevesse.”¹

The tenth octave makes specific allegations against the French king. In the Marcian codex 470, this satire is accompanied by a substantial series of shorter ones, nearly all of which play on similar motifs. That on p. 24, for instance, represents the “toscano castrato” and the craven Peter fleeing helter-skelter from the ravenous cock (Mr. Rostand was not the first to see in Chanticleer the personification of French exuberance). But Italian patriotism asserts itself in the answer that follows :

“ Il medico toscano senza fallo
Pillole appresta al gallico meschino,
E Pietro sul Tarpeo deride il gallo.”²

As for the North Italian states :

“ Hanno insegnato ai medici vicini
Il servir di chiurghi ai parigini.”

The pun just cited on the word *Medici* is paralleled by

¹ This figure of the Spanish army in the rôle of a tonic is to be associated, casually, with the similar figure in the first pamphlet of the nearly contemporaneous *Satire Ménippée*.

² Here we have that play on the name of the famous Florentine house, which has a whole literature in the line of our locution.

another on *santo*, in reference to the Papacy, that occurs two verses later: here Italy is “assomata da un mal francese—Che non v’è per cacciarlo il Santo Legno.¹ In a satire of the same collection, we have the protestations of *Genova infetta [che] sospetta di mal francese*:

“Vivo a regola e lascio — La pollania da banda,
Perchè il medico mio così comanda.
Li galli son nocivi — Da cibi sì cattivi
Guardami il ciel. . . .
Orsù, il mal è palese — Poichè alcuni miei figli
Si son scoperti aver il mal francese. . . .”

But she has confidence in her independence:

“Anzi per mio maggior honor e festa
Il gallo partirà senza la cresta.”

In Codex Correr, 1081 (p. 321 ff.), we hear a similar note: *Verona, udendo l'infermità di Mantova e prevedendo il mal francese a sè vicino, implora l'aggiuto de sig'r medici purgoni*; and she exclaims: “Il mal di creste egli è vicino—Fate ogni vostro poder.”² Vienna, however, in answer to her call, reproves the Mantovan rebellion, but gives assurance that the eagle will interfere with the cock's arrogance in Italy.

But quite apart from these special aspects of the theme, we find the tradition intact throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1649, the Venetian Ambassador, Basadonna, thus characterizes the failure of Alex-

¹ Has any one pointed out the origin of this phrase? It seems to be a folk etymology for *sental*, ‘sandal-wood,’ which, moreover, is used extensively in sacred rites, as incense.

² As for *mal di creste*, it is a humorous alteration of *mal di croste*, which Mr. Polidori notes in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, III, p. 34; the immediate association of course is with the *gallo*. The rôle of the *mal de Naples* or *de Colombe* in the *Candide* of Voltaire is conspicuous. In Dodsley's translation of that work, London, 1734, p. 14, is mentioned the *unguentum napolitanum*, an expression to be added to our list of related locutions.

ander VII to live up to his denunciation of nepotism :
 “Comparve a Roma, non un fratello, non un nipote, ma una
 inondatione formale di Chigi, e con successo tanto peggiore ;
 chè, se vi fossero andati al principio, la consuetudine haver-
 ebbe fatte le scuse e si sarebbero tollerati come un male già
 abituato ; laddove, dopo haver promessa il medico la salute,
 la nuova della morte parve tanto più strana.”¹ As though
 to summarize all that specific instances might show, we have
 a typical reflection of Seicento pessimism, where, much as
 in the *Schwindelsheim* of Murner, the whole world is going
 wrong (Lalli, for that matter, in the sixth canto of the
Franceide, had represented the whole Occident as in need of
 sandal-wood). It consists of twenty-nine verses, headed
Dell 'Incognito—scarcely an illuminating attribution :²

“Povero mondo mio—A che passo estu zonto ?
 Ti è tutto sporco et onto :
 No te lava la raffa dei calcagni
 L'acqua de tutti i mari e tutti i bagni.
 Ti è pien de dogie e affanni—Ti no gà più carne addosso ;
 Nè un consulto per ti vien fatto o mosso ;
 Te diol la testa e gambe e tutto trema ;
 I to desordinazzi, etc.
 El miedego ti chiami e ti te penti
 De no averlo obedio
 Disponi i fatti toi e fa testamento
 E so la to natura :—S'el te resanasse come prima,
 Ti saressi insolente—E de i so avvertimenti
 Più che mai sprezzator impertinente.”

Even if Boccacini, in the *Pietra di Paragone*, is a little more
 hopeful, he has grave misgivings for the fate and influence

¹ Luigi Morandi, *I sonetti romaneschi di G. G. Belli*, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1906, Vol. I, p. 178. For 1667 Morandi cites (p. 180) a pasquinade entitled *Il Vaticano languente dopo la morte di Clemente IX*, a form frequent with Pasquino and with eulogists.

² In cod. Correr, 1229, c. 43 ; Marciana, coll. 6473, 169a ; but also frequently elsewhere.

of Spain. She is suffering from the “umori grossi che dal Però le calavano nello stomaco;” and unless speedy bleeding be at hand to relieve her of her superfluous gorgings, she may spread the contagion “al capo d’Italia, con manifesta rovina delle membra principali rimaste libere;” in which case, she might even fall into “l’idropsia d’una monarchia universale.”¹ So Venice, at a time when it seemed as though the “pardo ottomano avrebbe ingoiato ogni sorce latin,” was to appear to one of Italy’s most competent writers, Fulvio Testi, as an invalid, limping with “incespante piede” that presages her fall—“in vita ancora—Per pena il ciel non per pietà la serba.”² And the regal Candia no longer a queen but an “ombra agonizzante” (Medin, p. 348), is found in a manuscript of the now dispersed Buoncompagni collection, hopeless and despondent, about to make her will: “Ritrovandomi io, città di Candia, gravemente inferma di corpo . . . e conoscendo dover in breve render lo spirito alla forza ottomana, per non lasciar le mie cose senza il diritto ordine . . . instituisco . . . il . . . mio . . . testamento . . . l’armate cristiane, per esser state lente a sovvenirmi nella presente mia indisposizione . . . e perchè intendo fra le confusioni della mia malattia . . . etc.”³ A sonneteer of the early eighteenth century entitled

¹ See Morsolin, *Il Seicento*, p. 67.

² Fulvio Testi, *Candia invasa dal Turco*, Modena, 1651. Cf. Medin, *op. cit.*, pp. 321–322. The verse on the “pardo ottomano” was written anonymously for the fall of Santa Maura, but our anachronism will be condoned.

³ The very form of the satirical testament, when used in broad and impersonal satire, creates, as in the *Messkrankheit* and in the “Povero mondo mio,” a parallel to our locution. Mr. Tucker has a few notes on this genre of satire, *op. cit.*, p. 202, etc. The humorous testament had special vogue in the *sub rosa* literature of the Venetian Seicento. I recall for the moment those of Contarini and especially of Zuanne Garzoni—precisely that majestic figure of the *Glorie degli Incogniti*—who left a facetious legacy to the courtesanes of Venice, but who, in numberless

a series of pasquinades *L'ospital de stati d'Italia*:¹ "Italia mia, sei fatta un ospedale," where *Mantova inferma per la guerra dell'anno 1702* exclaims in agony: "Son morta, ohimè, pietà, Hè, chi cortese, etc.;" and convinced like the Narr of Murner that death is imminent—"Ohimè, cresce il mio mal e già si vede, etc.," breaks out into her death-bed confession. Rome meanwhile is excitedly consulting her physician. The master is driving his cooks—"Sudate, o cuochi, a preparar sguazzetti"—for the benefit of Modena;² while Turin, who "had been ill, but was well again," is displaying the languid indifference of the convalescent. And to complete the chain, we may pass over a century, to a time when he who was ultimately to set Italy on the road to recovery, impressed a Venetian much as Spain had Boccalini and Turkey Zen. It was on the occasion of Napoleon's exile to Elba, and Venice had not yet forgotten the disillusionment of Campo Formio. In one sonnet, England has applied an emetic and is holding the "serviziale" to receive the stolen goods. In a second, we have the diagnosis of the doctor:

"Troppo mangiasti, o sire, il vostro male
 Nato è dall'ingordigia, ed è sì fiero,
 Ch'a evacuar non basta un sol cristero,
 Ma una purga ci vuol universale.
 Il mangiar per nutrirsi è naturale,
 Ma il voler divorar un mondo intero

codicils and letters of acknowledgment, was perhaps amply repaid. See Codex Querini-Stampalia, Cl. vi, xx, in Venice. The testament of Candia, cited above, is noted by Medin, pp. 355-358.

¹ At Rouen, in cod. 571, 1707, of the Collection Coquebert-Montret, p. 188b., ff.

² Obviously parodying the well known verses of Claudio Achillini, beginning "Sudate, o fuochi, a preparar metalli;" doubtless the first was meant also to suggest the famous canzone of Petrarch.

Non è cibo per voi così leggero
 Che non possa costarvi il funerale.
 Pigliate il mio consiglio e risolvete :
 Evacuar bisogna e dare uscita
 A tutto ciò ch'entro del corpo avete.
 La Francia a vomitar già vi s'invita,
 E se l'Italia ancor non renderete,
 Ho poca fede di tenervi in vita." ¹

Finally, to show the locution in its permanent and self-adapting popularity, we may refer to an editorial in the *New York Sun* of January 8, 1910—an attack on Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party entitled *The Friends at the Bed-side*: “While old Dr. Bryan is tripping over the Southern seas in quest of a panacea wherewith to revive and resuscitate the Democratic Party, certain intimate friends of the invalid have gathered in the sick room to talk things over. Part of the time they spend in smoothing the pillow and in other bedside attentions, and the rest they devote to lamenting the past and planning for the future . . .”

Without adducing more examples, which would range from comment on the most solemn events of history to the fate of a pitcher in a base-ball game, we may conclude by noting one phase of semantic development which the varying history of our locution shows: this is the important rôle of definite events and individuals in determining the vogue and connotation of locutions already widely diffused. An indefinite number of times Turkey had been called an invalid. The caprice of an Emperor put this unheard joke of Zen into the mouths of all the modern world. It may be well for our books of “Anecdotes and Quotations” to ascribe to Nicholas the invention of this popular characterization of Turkey; but

¹ From Vittorio Malamani, *I Francesi a Venezia e la satira*, Venezia, 1887, p. 172.

the attribution is not complete without reference to the broader historical background which we have traced.¹

A. A. LIVINGSTON.

¹ In Gustav Fock's *Antiquariats-Katalog* 373, no. 266, Professor Howard, to whose kindly interest in this theme I am greatly indebted, notes a curious German satire of 1690, which I have been able to secure. It is entitled : *Das an der Teutschen Colica danieder liegende Franckreich, vorinnen der heutige Zustand dieses Koenigreichs nebst kurtzen jedoch aber gruendlichen Entwurff der merckwuerdigsten Intrigues des Frantzoesischen Hofes aufgeloeset und vorgestellt werden mit Vermeldung der wahren Ursache warum so wenig der Koenig als Duc d'Orleans, und Monseigneur le Dauphin der Campagne in Teutschland und Niederland beywohnen wollen. Durch den Mercurius im Traum entdeckt dem Musastræo dell Montunione. Freystatt. Gedruckt im Jahr 1690.* It is a pamphlet of sixty unnumbered pages in small quarto (mm. 193 x 164). Half the last page is in small type to economize on the new sheet. The text is divided into forty-three chapters. The language is full of gallicisms and Latin quotations. The type in Chapter VIII fails to show a pasquinade in extemporized rhythm :

“ Unter der Freundlichkeit verborgene List—
 Unter dem Honig das schaedlichste Gift—
 Unter denen theuresten *Sincerationen*,
 Die betrueglichsten Fallstricke der Frantzosen.”

The author's name is associated with Musa and Astrea ; probably Mont + unione likewise has its reference. Louis XIV appears as Theodates, King of the Gauls ; the other personages are mentioned by their own names. The reason why Mercury is the guide through the French Court is obvious.

Musastræo, fatigued and bewildered by the trash of political writings, retires to a sheltered spot to think his own thoughts. Though he is very drowsy, his interest is suddenly awakened, when he finds himself in the presence of gay revellers. Their radiant features suggest that this must be the Elysian fields ; but the costumes are all French. Can France have conquered even the other world ? Ah no, it is perhaps a *maison de plaisance* ! But a stranger approaches. Musastræo is afraid of being taken for a spy ; but on his learning it is Mercury, “seven of his five senses come to life again.” Mercury explains that this is the French court, and offers to guide his new friend through it. The first palace is devoted to card playing ; over each table rules a queen ; the rank of the queens is determined by the number and splendor of their conquests in love : then follows a series of tales relating the intrigues of the Duchess of Mecklenburg, Madame d'Olonne, Madame de Fiesque, la Mareschale de la Ferté, etc. Another palace contains the

young nobles drinking ; and Musastræo laments that even in this typically German accomplishment, his countrymen are far behind the French. Then comes a cloister where the mistresses of Louis XIV are quartered side by side. Leaving the licentious splendor of the palace, Musastræo is led into a field glowing with a strange light. In the vapor he sees devils slaughtering women and children ; Mercury explains that these devils are French generals, whom he names ; the ruins are Worms, Heidelberg, Speyer, *etc.* Mercury breaks out into a denunciation of the French, lauding Henry IV over Louis XIV. Returning to the Palace of the King, they find everything in suspense. The King is in great agony from a disease called German Colic. The immediate cause is news from abroad : the Jacobites are beaten in England ; the French are whipped in Holland ; the invaders of Germany are in full retreat. At this report the dauphin and the gentlemen of the court are also seized with the colic. The doctors apply a plaster composed of an invasion of Ireland and a bombardment of Civita Vecchia : but they do not avail after Londonderry and the destruction of the French fleet by the English. Then even stronger remedies are suggested : “eine Brandsalbe” invented by the Comte de Melac ; “ein von denen Franzoesischen Dragonnern bereiteter Purgiertranck” ; a “Goldtincktur” ; “eine in Hoffnung wohl reüssirende Tuerkisch-Frantz-Alcorans Mixtur” ; “das Wilhelminische Spionen Pflaster” ; an English “Anti-Wilhelminum” ; but it is at last decided that the disease is incurable : and that it will spread not only to the royal family entire, but to the whole of France.—Musastræo was about to come to the rescue with a valuable suggestion, when he fell off the stump where he was sleeping and awoke, firmly determined never to visit such a place as the French Court again.